

Message Text

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NODIS
FOR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM USUN NEW YORK DATED JANUARY 11,
1978 SENT SECSTATE WASHDC IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

S E C R E T USUN 0082

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, XF
SUBJECT: UN PARTICIPATION AT THE JERUSALEM MEETING

REF: HELMAN/STERNER/LEONARD TELCON

1. IN MEETING AT SOVIET MISSION JANUARY 10, AMB LEONARD
AS PER FERTELCON URGED SOVIET PERMREP TROYANOVSKY TO JOIN US
IN ENCOURAGING WALDHEIM TO AGREE TO UN REPRESENTATION AT THE
JERUSALEM MEETING. LEONARD INDICATED US VIEW THAT UN
PRESENCE AT THE JERUSALEM MEETING WOULD SERVE LARGER
US/USSR INTEREST OF MOVING THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS TOWARD
GENEVA RATHER THAN ALLOWING IT TO DRIFT INTO A BILATERAL
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ISRAELI/EGYPTIAN NEGOTIATION.

2. TROYANOVSKY SAID THAT USSR COULD NOT SUPPORT UN PARTI-
CIPATATION AT JERUSALEM FOR PRECISELY THE SAME REASONS THAT
APPLIED TO THE CAIRO CONFERENCE. IN THE SOVIET VIEW, THE
CAIRO AND JERUSALEM MEETINGS HAD ALREADY SPLIT THE ARAB
WORLD, CONVEIVABLY COULD LEAD TO A SEPARATE ISRAELI/EGYPTIAN

AGREEMENT, AND THUS CONSTITUTED A SERIOUS OBSTACLE TO THE RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND THE OBJECTIVE OF A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT. TROYANOVSKY SAID HE HAD INFORMED GUYER THIS MORNING THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD FULLY SUPPORT WALDHEIM IF HE STAYS AWAY FROM THE JERUSALEM MEETING.

3. LEONARD NOTED THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE MILITARY COMMITTEE MEETING IN CAIRO, FOCUSING ON EGYPTIAN/ISRAELI TOPICS, AND THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING IN JERUSALEM DEALING WITH THE OVERALL ISSUES INCLUDING TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS AND THE PALESTINIANS. THE US HOPES THAT THE JERUSALEM MEETING CAN LEAD TO A WIDER MEASURE OF AGREEMENT ON THESE BROADER ISSUES, FACILITATE THE PARTICIPATION OF OTHER ARAB STATES AND LEAD TO OUR JOINT GOAL OF RECONVENING GENEVA. TROYANOVSKY COUNTERED BY SUGGESTING THAT US AND USSR AS CO-CHAIRMAN INSTEAD SHOULD CALL NOW FOR THE RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. MOSCOW, HE CONCLUDED, COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO CHANGE ITS POSITION AGAINST UN PARTICIPATION AT THE JERUSALEM MEETING.

4. IN SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION, UNDER SECRETARY GENERAL BUFFUM TOLD LEONARD THAT, IN HIS JUDGEMENT, WALDHEIM HAS EXAGGERATED THE DANGER OF A POSSIBLE SOVIET CALL FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING WERE A UN REPRESENTATIVE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE JERUSALEM MEETING. BUFFUM THOUGHT
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THAT WALDHEIM HAS BEEN GIVEN BAD ADVICE BY GUYER AND URQUHART, AND PROBABLY COULD STILL BE PERSUADED TO CHANGE HIS MIND. HE SUGGESTED WE INDICATE TO HIM THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS SHOWED STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE SADAT/BEGIN EFFORT AND FOR UN PARTICIPATION IN THIS PHASE OF THE PEACE-MAKING PROCESS. WE ALSO COULD TELL WALDHEIM -- HE CONTINUED -- THAT, WERE THE UN NOT TO PARTICIPATE, WE WOULD INEVITABLY HAVE TO INDICATE OUR DISAPPOINTMENT IF ASKED BY THE PRESS. FRG PERMREP VON WECHMAR COULD REINFORCE THIS BY INDICATING TO HIM THE LIKELIHOOD OF CRITICISM IN THE GERMAN PRESS. FINALLY, ONE OR TWO OTHER PERMREPS MIGHT JOIN US IN ENCOURAGING WALDHEIM TO REVERSE HIMSELF. BUFFUM ALSO SUGGESTED AS FINAL FALL-BACK THAT WE ASK WALDHEIM TO AGREE TO SIILASVUO'S PARTICIPATION ONLY AT MEETINGS IN WHICH UN ISSUES ARE BEING DISCUSSED BY EGYPTIANS AND ISRAELIS.

5. LEONARD THEN DISCUSSED THE MATTER WITH CANADIANS AND BRITISH, BOTH OF WHOM FAVOR UN PARTICIPATION IN JERUSALEM AND AGREE WITH US THAT WALDHEIM IS MAKING A MISTAKE. LEONARD WILL IF INSTRUCTED CONTACT GERMAN,

INDIAN AND NIGERIAN REPS TOMORROW FOR FURTHER SOUNDINGS.

6. COMMENT. WE SHARE BUFFUM'S ASSESSMENT THAT WALDHEIM'S CONCERNS ARE EXAGGERATED, AND DOUBT THAT SOVIETS WOULD CALL FOR AN SC MEETING WERE HE TO AGREE TO UN PARTICIPATION AT JERUSALEM. IF THEY DID, WE BELIEVE ONLY THEY AND THE CZECHS WOULD BE CRITICAL, THAT WEST AND POSSIBLY SEVERAL NON-ALIGNED WOULD SUPPORT HIM AND MOST OTHERS WOULD BE SILENT OR WOULD STRADDLE IN THEIR STATEMENTS. WE RECOMMEND THAT DEPARTMENT CONSIDER ASKING AMB SULLIVAN TO BRIEF WALDHEIM ON OUR ASSESSMENT AND URGE HIS RECONSIDERATION.

LEONARD UNQUOE VANCE
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